DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 179 SO 015 799

AUTHOR Taft, Charles P.; Bennett, Linda L. M.
TITLE Lobbying: What Does It Consist of? Where Does It Fit into Our Process of Government? Grass Roots Guides on Democracy and Practical Politics. Booklet No. 67.
INSTITUTION Center for Information on America, Washington, Conn.
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 16p.; For booklet on Congress, see SO 015 798.
AVAILABLE FROM Center for Information on America, Washington, CT 06793 ($3.00, 1-9 copies; $2.75, 10-99 copies; $2.50, 100-499 copies).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner) (051)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; *Citizen Participation; *Citizenship Education; *Civics; Democracy; Higher Education; Instructional Materials; Legislators; *Lobbying; Political Influences; Political Issues; Political Power; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; *United States Government (Course)
IDENTIFIERS Congress

ABSTRACT

Background information on lobbying will help secondary and college students and adults develop a clearer understanding of how U.S. democracy works. Discussed are what lobbying is, who the lobbyists are, lobby regulation, and the different kinds of lobbying groups. As an example of the environment within which lobbyists work, lobbying efforts surrounding air pollution are described. There was a time when the American public believed, with some justification, that "The Interests" owned legislators. While abuses still occur, lobbying has become the means by which large numbers of citizens participate in the processes of modern government. To operate actively as part of a pressure group may seem selfish and short-sighted to those on the other side of a contested issue, but it is a way of taking part. If such an operation is honest and intelligent, it becomes an important contribution to government in a representative democracy. (RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

GRASS ROOTS GUIDES
on Democracy and Practical Politics
a service of the
CENTER FOR INFORMATION ON AMERICA

LOBBYING:

What Does It Consist Of?

Where Does It Fit Into Our Process Of Government?

By CHARLES P. TAFT
and
LINDA L. M. BENNETT

SP 015 799

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☒ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Townsend Saudder
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

About GRASS ROOTS GUIDES:

GRASS ROOTS GUIDES ON DEMOCRACY AND PRACTICAL POLITICS are produced by **The Center for Information on America,** an independent educational corporation, nonprofit and nonpartisan, dedicated to furthering the knowledge and understanding of America by Americans through informational publications, radio, films, television, and conferences.

The purpose of this series is to encourage wider and better informed civic and political activity. It includes two types:

"How-to-do-it" Guides for successful participation, each dealing specifically with a particular political operation,

"What-it-is-all-about" Guides, explaining and examining specific features of our self-governing process, with the aim of cultivating a clearer understanding of how our Democracy functions.

Each Guide is the production of leading authorities and experts, under the general supervision of the **Center's** advisory committees:

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Henry S. Commager, Professor of History, Amherst College; Richard W. Cortright, Division of Instruction and Professional Development, National Education Association; Sister Sarah Fasenmyer, Dean, School of Education, Catholic University of America; James W. Fesler, Professor Emeritus of Government, Yale University; Eric F. Goldman, Professor of History, Princeton University; Richard I. Miller, Associate Director of Programs, Illinois Board of Higher Education; Robert Spiller, Professor Emeritus of English, University of Pennsylvania, and Past-President of the American Studies Association; Charles P. Taft, Lawyer

EDITOR: Townsend Scudder, President of the Center

About the authors: Mr. Taft is a distinguished authority on American Government and has served both locally as Mayor of the City of Cincinnati and nationally in the Department of State. Dr. Bennett is Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Cincinnati's Evening College.

This is Booklet No. 67

Price, single copy, three dollars.
See last page for other titles.
Copyright © 1983 by the Center for Information on America.

First Printing, 1983

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LOBBYING
What Does It Consist Of? Where Does It Fit Into Our Process of Government?

By Charles P. Taft and Linda L. M. Bennett

"Lobbying" has usually had bad connotations.

There was a time when the American public believed with some justification that "The Interests" owned legislators. Though the extent was exaggerated, it was known that some wild parties at hotels in state capitals took place and that votes were influenced or openly bought. Even today there is concern about the large sums of money spent on election campaigns by interest groups and their political action committees.

While abuses still occur, public and governmental pressures often operate to monitor the methods of operation, and lobbying has become the means by which large numbers of citizens participate in the processes of modern government.

To operate actively as part of a "pressure group" may seem selfish and short-sighted to those on the other side of a contested issue, but it is a way of taking part, and likely to become even more widespread. If such an operation is honest and intelligent, it becomes an important contribution to government in our huge representative democracy.

WHAT IS LOBBYING?

Lobbying is the representation of a group's interests before governmental bodies, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, at the local, state, or national level. Pressure groups use a wide variety of techniques. One is an attempt to align group interests with perceived public opinion and identify group activity with the "public interest". Another is persuasion of decision-makers of the political consequences that will follow from support of or opposition to the group's goals. Often groups find they are more involved in attempts to stop or delay governmental action they believe to be against their interests than in developing demands for new policies and programs. In recent years, groups have found that, if disappointed at the legislative or executive levels, the federal court system provides another avenue by which to seek satisfaction. The federal court system has become increasingly willing to serve as arbiter in a wide range of disputes. As a result, the courts have become more important in the policy process.

Among the resources used to persuade the decision-makers are information, money for campaign contributions, and manpower to ring door-

bells, stuff envelopes, and get out the vote. Computer technology and the popularization of public opinion polling have permitted those groups with sufficient resources to keep a finger on the public pulse and to generate rapid public or member response to governmental actions.

An important role of the lobbyist is the presentation of detailed and technical information about some measure or policy with which his or her group is concerned. This is of value because legislators and even bureaucrats are to a considerable degree "generalists" who need and welcome accurate and well-summarized materials to help them with complicated and difficult problems. Obviously the persons who are approached in this way know that the lobbyist has an axe to grind, and they take the material with a grain of salt, matching it against what the other side produces. This sifting and balancing is often done by an executive assistant to relieve a busy and harassed official or legislator. The reception of a lobbyist's proposals will depend very considerably on the honesty, usefulness, and reliability of what has been presented. It can also depend on an ability to perform the tasks of shaping public opinion and persuading decision-makers.

Thus, lobbyists play a part in all phases of public policy. They use the techniques and resources at their disposal to influence not only the initiation and passage of legislation but also the subsequent administration of the laws.

WHO ARE THE LOBBYISTS?

Lobbying today is done in large part by representatives of organizations concerned with broad areas of public policy, but whose interests will touch a wide variety of issues. Major pressure groups include those in business, labor, and agriculture. In recent decades, groups concentrating on specific issues such as education, civil rights, consumer protection, and environmentalism have mobilized and often seek to join in coalition with broader-based interests to present their views more forcefully to public officials. While we tend to think of lobbying primarily as private groups attempting to influence public officials, there is a great deal of *intra*-governmental lobbying, that is, one level or branch seeking to influence another level or branch. For instance, as federal grants to states and localities reached $91.2 billion in 1982, there were scores of state and local lobbyists in Washington, D.C. to plead for their region and its cut of the federal pie.

Many issues do not extend beyond one geographical area, and groups which show up in state capitals may never be seen in Washington, D.C. For example, organizations of restaurant operators in cities may act as lobbyists to express their views on local regulatory ordinances. Firemen and policemen have little immediate concern with the Federal Government, but are very interested in state and local legislation affecting hiring rules, seniority provisions, and pensions.

On the other hand, some issues and groups that used to be restricted to state and local governments have exploded onto the national scene. A good example is education wherein, during the 1960s and 1970s, the National Education Association gained sufficient national clout to convince the President and Congress that a separate, Cabinet-level Department of Education was needed.

Thus, in states and nation, a wide variety of interests in all their forms find occasion to appear before legislative bodies and government officials to express opposition to or support for pending proposals. Most legislators and most government officials welcome such approaches if they are informative, honest, and really seem to take into account the practical problems of the legislator or bureaucrat.

The question, "Who does the lobbying?," deserves a brief analysis.

The key to a lobbyist's success in representing his or her group's interests is *access* . Many groups find that in Washington and in many state capitals, former legislators, ex-Cabinet officers, and former administrators make exceptional lobbyists. These former government officials have usually left behind networks of government colleagues who remain receptive to their former co-workers. Once contact has been established, most lobbyists emphasize that only through diligent efforts to provide reliable information in an honest and pragmatic fashion can access be maintained. Heavy-handed attempts to bribe or otherwise pressure reluctant government officials can sometimes lead to the closing of influential doors, or, even worse, exposure in the media of unethical tactics as in the 1977 "Koreagate" scandal. Then, Korean businessman Tongsun Park was revealed to have offered lavish gifts and parties to congressmen as bribes for support of the South Korean government.

LOBBY REGULATION

Embarrassing revelations, such as "Koreagate", have renewed interest, particularly among some members of Congress, in regulating lobbying activity. Until 1946 there was no Federal control or regulation of lobbying. In that year, in connection with Congressional reorganization, the Regulation of Lobbying Act was passed. This statute in effect defines a lobbyist as a paid professional who seeks to influence directly the vote of a member of Congress on a piece of pending legislation. It was assumed that undesirable behavior by interest groups could be best controlled by publicity rather than by prohibition. In line with this philosophy lobbyists were required to register with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate and to file periodic statements of receipts and expenditures. The Act, as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court, leaves a rather limited field within the definition of lobbying.

The ambiguities in the wording of the 1946 Act have led to great difficulties in enforcement. The law applies only to those organizations whose "principal purpose" is to influence legislation. Many of the most active organizations operating in Washington have claimed exemption from the law on the ground that lobbying is not their principal purpose. Also excluded from the requirement of registration and reporting are "volunteer" lobbyists, be they businessmen, union members, or altruists. Some types of contact with Congress are not necessarily considered lobbying under the Act, for instance testifying before a committee or subcommittee or contacting congressional staffers. The very limitation of the lobbying arena to Congress omits the myriad of contacts with administrative agencies and bureaus, executive departments, and even judicial bodies.

Recent congressional efforts in 1978 and 1979 to strengthen and broaden the impact of the 1946 Act have not been successful. Some charge that the 1979 Arab scam or "Abscam" operation conducted by the FBI,

using video tapes showing some congressmen eagerly accepting money from agents posing as Arab businessmen, proves that many in government are "on the take." Many lobbyists counter that of the seven House members and one Senator indicted in the operation, none was a major, influential leader in either chamber. One of the difficulties Congress faces when attempting to regulate lobbying activity lies in the tension between protecting First Amendment freedoms of speech and to petition government for a redress of grievances while at the same time trying to curb the unethical use of access by individuals and groups.

A development in recent years that has sparked concern about one aspect of lobbying in the national capital and in the states is the growth of political action committees (PACs) and their large contributions to national and state campaign coffers. Direct PAC contributions to campaigns were legitimized by the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act. Business, labor, or any other group can collect funds from employees, members, stockholders, or individual citizens and lend support for or opposition to individual candidates or political parties. In 1980 PAC contributions to congressional candidates amounted to over $50 million while state-level PACs increased their spending 42% in the two years between 1978 and 1980. Many have expressed concern that while parts of the 1974 Act and similar state laws place limits on the amount that can be contributed, more oversight needs to be conducted to guarantee that the campaign contributions do not result in "the best government money can buy."

The growth in the size and complexity of our government in recent decades has been matched by a phenomenal growth in the number of groups seeking to lobby government. Estimates vary, but the current number of lobbyists in Washington, D.C. has been placed at between 8,000 and 15,000. The organizations these lobbyists represent spend over $1 billion annually to influence legislation, administrative regulations and executive decisions.

WHAT KINDS OF GROUPS?

The traditional categories of business, labor, and agricultural groups must be expanded to include particularly citizen-public interest groups and single-issue groups. Most groups maintain offices in Washington or in state capitals with full-time staffs. Simple categories or types of groups, however, hide an immense diversity among groups in each category and even within individual groups.

Business groups are among the most numerous and active in lobbying government officials. Some corporations will have such a broad range of interests that they will belong to more than one lobbying association. Often business interests will secure the aid of Washington law firms to represent their interests in complex regulatory matters. The most visible business group is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. This organization has over 70,000 members (individuals and firms), over 2,500 state and local units and over 1,000 trade and professional association members. Its Washington office has over 400 staffers and an annual budget in excess of $16 million. The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), though losing members in recent years as a result of company mergers, still has over 13,000 members and a Washington-based staff of 220. The Business Roundtable is composed of the chief executives of major firms. Small businesses are represented by a number of associations, for example the National Federation of Indepen-

dent Businesses, the National Small Business Association, and the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies. These three groups have formed the Council of Small and Independent Business Associations to increase the effectiveness of their lobbying efforts in Washington. In addition, there are groups involved in specific business areas and professions, for example Oil, Textiles, Coal, Shipping, Homebuilders, Doctors, Lawyers, Railroads, Trucking — the list is almost endless.

The AFL-CIO, with over 13 million members, is the largest voice for labor. The United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers (UAW), the United Mine Workers, and the Teamsters are also forces to reckon with. While the AFL-CIO will take positions on issues other than those immediately related to labor (for instance, civil rights and foreign policy), many others keep their lobbying activities focused upon those issues closely related to their membership's concerns such as pensions, wages, and safety.

Among agricultural groups the National Grange is the oldest and, although it originated in the radical Populist movement, has had the reputation of being the most conservative. It is strongest in the Northeast and boasts a membership of over 600,000 families. The American Farm Bureau Federation, with its State Farm Bureaus, has over 3 million members and represents the major farm interests in the Middle West and the South. The Farm Bureau has the closest ties with the major business organizations. The National Farmers Union, the most liberal of the groups, represents over 250,000 farm families in the Upper Midwest and West. In addition, groups representing the interests of growers and producers of various commodities abound, for example milk producers, cattlemen, tobacco and potato growers, among many others. The wholesalers and distributers of these commodities also maintain lobbying organizations in the nation's capital and in many states.

In the past two decades groups claiming to represent some aspect of the "public interest" or citizen rights have proliferated. Most prominent of the public interest groups is Common Cause, formed in 1970 and now with a membership of over 225,000, an annual budget in excess of $5 million, and a Washington staff of 85. Generally, Common Cause has focused efforts upon institutional reform, lobbying disclosure laws, and campaign finance reform. Ralph Nader is responsible for the germination of over a dozen lobbying groups concerned with issues such as consumer protection, the environment, safety, and tax reform. Often groups form to counter the claims of other groups as did the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action to counter the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. Intense concern in the 1960s and onward with civil rights for minorities brought a variety of groups into the national limelight such as the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Developing from the civil rights movement was renewed interest in women's rights and the creation of the National Organization for Women energized older, more conservative groups such as the League of Women Voters.

As was mentioned earlier, there is a considerable amount of *intra*-governmental lobbying. Each branch has liaison officers to lobby other branches or agencies. The White House and various Cabinet departments have congressional liaison staff to help them work with Congress. Many states maintain offices in Washington to coordinate efforts to bring more federal resources into their state. Governors formed the National Gover-

nors Association to protect state prerogatives from federal encroachment and the National League of Cities keeps an eagle eye on federal grants to cities.

As fewer citizens affiliate with and remain steadfastly loyal to political parties, more single-issue groups have emerged. Political parties used to serve as aggregators of diverse issue concerns and, to some degree, they still do. However, as parties have weakened there has been a proliferation of groups, some with very narrow issue interests. In recent years issues such as gun control, abortion, environmentalism, homosexual rights and a host of other highly divisive and controversial issues have generated intense lobbying on all sides of these issues. Often, when government officials are approached by these groups they are presented with "either-or" options and little hope of compromise. Without the tool of compromise these groups can and have created instances of stalemate in the councils of government.

The preceding paragraphs do not even begin to chart the full range of lobbying interests that have mushroomed in recent years. Lobbyists and government officials today operate within a highly complex, interwoven network of rules, regulations, multiple governmental levels and layers of organizations. This complexity adds to the difficulty in regulating lobbying activity.

In order to increase our understanding of the environment within which lobbyists work, let's look at a specific example, the 1977 Clean Air Act amendments.

LOBBYING TODAY

America's complex industrial, technological society provides many conveniences to its citizens. However, technological growth and development have had an impact on the environment in which we live. Solutions to air and water pollution, toxic waste disposal and related environmental hazards are not easily found. In part, this is because of the need to develop scientific methods to aid in the clean-up effort, but also, difficulty arises from conflicting demands of various groups in the political system. Environmentalists charge that no cost is too high to protect the air we breathe and the water we drink. Other groups, including some in business and labor, counter that additional considerations, particularly economic, must be kept in mind when setting desirable environmental standards. Here we will focus only on the lobbying efforts surrounding air pollution — more specifically, that resulting from automobile emissions.

The struggle that emerged in Congress in 1976 and 1977, over air pollution standards for car emissions and the deadlines by which those standards had to be met, was not new. Since passage of the 1963 Clean Air Act Congress and the Presidency had been grappling with difficult political choices in combatting air pollution. In the 1963 Act much of the discretion of what to do about air pollution had been left to the states. Conservationists and environmentalists felt that the states had been slow to act and that federal standards and guidelines were necessary. In 1970 Congress agreed and granted to the newly-created Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) the power to set standards and guidelines for stationary sources of air pollution (for example industries and utility plants). Congress, however, maintained control over setting the deadlines for mobile sources of air pollution.

During the mid-1970s, America was forced to come to grips with energy shortages as Arab nations flexed their political muscles with an oil embargo. The economy was wracked by high inflation, businesses were faltering under the dual pressures of obsolescence and foreign competition. Demands were made to save companies and jobs by easing air pollution standards for automobiles and factories. Between 1971 and 1976 Congress responded to these conditions by extending the deadlines for compliance to automobile emission standards four times (1971, 1973, 1974, and 1976).

By 1976, group coalitions had formed on both sides of the car emission/air pollution issue. The environmental "Clean Air" coalition included established conservation groups such as the Sierra Club and the National Audubon Society as well as the more militant Friends of the Earth. Joining in the coalition were Common Cause and the League of Women Voters. This coalition relied upon organizing grass-roots pressure, mobilizing activists, generating mail from concerned constituents, providing information bulletins on the status of the legislation, and issuing medical reports to congressional staffers on the dangers of air pollution.

Working to get air pollution standards and deadlines eased was an unusual coalition of traditional foes: General Motors, the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association, and the UAW. This coalition encouraged employees and members to write letters and send telegrams to their congressmen expressing concern for their jobs should air pollution standards be enforced. Business and labor groups were also more experienced in making direct contact with members of Congress, assessing who could be counted on for support and who could be counted out.

In the legislative arena, knowing which committees or subcommittees will be concerned with your interests and who is on those committees is an important part of the lobbying process. Assessing who is sympathetic and who is hostile requires fewer resources than attempting to persuade an undecided committee member. Many lobbyists insist that they rarely attempt to change the mind of an openly hostile legislator. Since the committee or subcommittee's report on a bill will carry considerable weight once a floor vote is required, lobbying resources can be more effectively used by targeting key sympathetic and undecided legislators.

The legislative maze lobbyists confront today is more confusing than that of the 1960s or early 1970s. After 1974 the seniority system, particularly in the House, was weakened. Standing committee chairmen could no longer rule with an iron hand and subcommittees grew in number and power. For example, during the 97th Congress (1981-1982) there were 22 standing or permanent committees and 149 subcommittees in the House. The Senate had 16 standing and 105 subcommittees. While this fragmentation of power in Congress makes the legislative process more confusing, for many lobbyists the proliferation of subcommittees offers a wider variety of access points and the possibility that an opposing standing committee chairman might be circumvented by approaching a sympathetic subcommittee chairman. Also, a very complex bill may be referred to more than one House committee if several jurisdictions are involved. No wonder only a small percentage of legislation proposed during each session is ever actually passed!

The key arenas for the Clean Air and GM-UAW coalitions were two subcommittees. In early 1976 Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) held hearings as chairman of the Environment and Public Works Subcommittee.

Representative Paul Rogers (D-Florida) held similar hearings as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment. Though Muskie and Rogers were sympathetic to the Clean Air coalition, they were willing to compromise to get a bill passed. Other members of Congress such as Representative John Dingell (D-Michigan) were sympathetic to the GM-UAW coalition and expressed concern for the ailing American automobile industry. For Representative Dingell it was a matter of representing the interests of a large automobile manufacturer and the thousands of employees who resided in his district.

Both coalitions made sure they had articulate, knowledgeable people to present their views before the Muskie and Rogers subcommittees' hearings. When a visible, controversial issue is involved there is often media coverage of congressional hearings. Groups know that media coverage gives them an opportunity to present their views to a wider public.

Because of Senator Muskie's control of his subcommittee, the Senate adopted its report for more stringent standards as amendments to the Clean Air Act. Rogers' House subcommittee reported a bill that leaned toward easing the standards. When different versions of a bill are passed by the two chambers, the legislation goes to a conference committee composed of members of both the House and Senate. It is here that the differences between the bills are ironed out. During this process lobbyists can continue to present their cases, directly or indirectly, to members of the conference committee.

In this instance, because of the fierce lobbying by both coalitions and the upcoming 1976 elections, the issue was continued into the following year.

Early in 1977 another important actor arrived in Washington, newly-elected President Jimmy Carter. The President expressed strong support for strict emission standards and deadlines. Mr. Carter appointed an aggressive liaison (a former congressional aide) to lobby Congress and made personal telephone calls to waivering committee members. Even though there is often tension between the White House and Capitol Hill, the impact of presidential pressure can be significant.

Final passage of the 1977 Clean Air Act amendments was not possible until all sides had been encouraged to compromise. The 1977 Act extended auto emission deadlines to 1978 and 1979 and committed the automobile industry to tougher standards for 1980 and 1981. President Carter signed a bill that, while not granting everything he wanted, at least signaled a commitment by his administration to the imposition of tighter standards.

Today there is still struggle over federal policy to control air pollution. Business groups, including the NAM and the Business Roundtable, continue to charge that the standards are too restrictive and costly. The Clean Air coalition, revitalized in the early 1980s, still lobbys for stricter standards and deadlines. The 98th Congress is locked in conflict with Representative Dingell, Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, initiating amendments to ease the standards and Representative Henry Waxman (D-California), now Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, fighting any relaxation of the standards.

Passage of legislation, no matter how difficult, does not spell the last word on an issue today. Environmental groups have had some successes by challenging in federal courts the EPA's methods of implementing various parts of the Clean Air Act.

The political climate surrounding legislation as important as the Clean Air Act can be changed by the arrival of a new administration. This happened in 1980 when President Carter lost his bid for reelection to Republican Ronald Reagan. Both President Reagan and his first appointee to be Director of the EPA, Anne Gorsuch, expressed concern that, given a range of economic problems, pollution standards should be eased. Without question groups will continue to join coalitions, mobilize grass-roots support, generate media coverage, encourage letter writing, back the campaigns of supporters — and remember their opponents.

THE CITIZEN AND LOBBYING

The citizen who wants to play a role in the determination of public policy must be aware of the need and importance of organized effort in this area. An organized, focused, and well-timed program, based on a continuing knowledge and experience of the governmental process, is certainly more effective than random individual efforts to influence legislation or the administrative process. As a group member, the citizen should be sure that the organizations through which he or she seeks to exercise influence know their jobs and operate both effectively and honestly.

This does not mean that the individual can and should play no role whatsoever outside organizational memberships. Government officials, whether legislators or administrators, are being constantly bombarded by conflicting claims, demands, and proposals. Each organization attempts to convince these decision-makers that its members are solidly behind this proposal and will act in such a way as to reward an official who favors them or punish an official who opposes them. Decision-makers cannot determine the public interest merely by weighing conflicting group interests. They, therefore, are also vitally concerned with what their individual constituents think and want. They need to know whether the leaders of interest groups truly represent the wishes of the groups' members. There is only one way the decision-makers can determine these factors — namely by mail, by visits, and by other contacts with individual constituents. Thus, in the process of government, whether it be through lobbying or in other ways, the well-informed, active, and alert individual counts.

12

FOR FURTHER READING

Ackerman, Bruce A., and William T. Hassler, *Clean Coal/Dirty Air* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981. The authors focus upon the lobbying by coal producers concerning the stationary source provisions of the Clean Air Act.

Alderson, George, and Everett Sentman, *How You Can Influence Congress*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1979. A step-by-step guide for the citizen lobbyist including suggestions on the kinds of approaches to use in Congress.

Bauer, Raymond A., I. de Sola Pool, and L. A. Dexter, *American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade*, New York, Atherton Press, 1963. A dated but classic study of the roles of business and pressure groups in lobbying on trade legislation.

Berry, Jeffrey M., *Lobbying for the People*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1977. A good study of the rise of public interest groups, their origins and lobbying strategies. Mr. Berry includes case studies of the Fund for Animals and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Jones, Charles O., *Clean Air: The Policies and Politics of Pollution Control*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975. Dr. Jones presents a very readable analysis of the policy implications of environmentalism. He includes state and county processes as well as federal.

Key, V. O., Jr., *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, 5th ed., New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964. Again, this volume is dated, but it is a classic treatment of the subject of pressure groups in the context of their role in the political process.

Lowi, Theodore J., *The End of Liberalism*, 2nd ed., New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1979. This is an important study of the impact of interest groups on the American political system. He has stirred controversy with his proposal for a "juridical democracy".

McConnell, Grant, *Private Power and American Democracy*, New York, Knopf, 1966. Deals primarily with lobbying in its relationship to regulatory agencies.

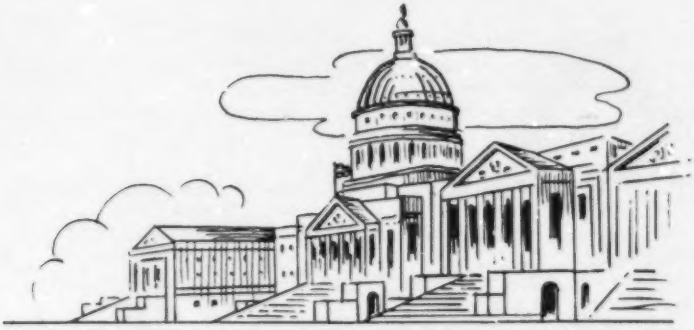
Ornstein, Norman J., and Shirley Elder, *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Policymaking*, Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly Press, 1978. A good primer on lobbying and the attempts to regulate lobbying. Much of the material in this pamphlet on the 1977 amendments is covered more completely in this volume.

Orren, Karen, "Standing to Sue: Interest Group Conflict in the Federal Courts," *American Political Science Review*, LXX (September, 1976), pp. 723-741. The use of litigation by interest groups is often overlooked in traditional treatments of lobbying. Ms. Orren provides a valuable analysis of why more interest groups are finding their way to the court system.

Truman, David B., *The Governmental Process*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. This is *the* major work on interest groups — their nature, goals, and place in the political system.

Zeigler, L. Harmon, "Interest Groups in the States," in *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, ed. by Virginia Gray, Herbert Jacob, and Kenneth Vines, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1983. Uses some of the most recent findings in political science on why people join groups and why those groups vary in strength from state to state. Included is a study of federalism and water pollution control.

Zeigler, Harmon and Michael Baer, *Lobbying: Interaction and Influence in American State Legislatures*, Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1969. Using four states (Mass., N. Carolina, Oregon, and Utah) the authors describe the lobbying process in the states.



SOME OTHER GUIDES IN THE SERIES

No. 1 WHO, ME A POLITICIAN? by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 8 LOBBYING, by Charles P. Taft.
No. 9 THE FUNDAMENTALS OF FREEDOM, by Alan Barth.
No. 10 PUBLIC OFFICE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, by Glen R. Peterson.
No. 11 LEGISLATIVE MALAPPORTIONMENT, by James D. Barber.
No. 14 POLITICAL BROADCASTING, by Herbert E. Alexander.
No. 20 COMMUNITY ACTION, by Lee L. Smith.
No. 21 THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, by Virginia and James Eisenstein.
No. 22 THE CITIZEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES, by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 26 WATCHDOGS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, by Karl Schriftgiesser.
No. 29 THE RIGHT TO VOTE, by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 30 MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES, by A. Dale Tussing.
No. 31 CONSUMER'S PRIMER ON MONEY, by A. Dale Tussing and T. Gregory Morton.
No. 33 MOCK PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS, by Thomas Wolanin.
No. 38 OUR STATE LEGISLATURES, by Donald G. Herzberg and Alan S. Chartock.
No. 39 CORPORATIONS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS, by Raymond L. Hoewing.
No. 40 PUBLIC AUTHORITIES: Devices to Finance, Construct, and Operate Public Projects — How Do They Work? by Nathaniel Stone Preston.
No. 41 THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSIONS: How Do They Work? How Could They Work Better? by Frank and Deborah E. Popper.
No. 43 U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENTS, With a Descriptive Listing of Them, by Lloyd Etheredge.
No. 44 ARBITRATION IN THE U.S. TODAY, by Morris Stone.
No. 46 THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE SYSTEM, by Ake Sandler and Richard Burns.
No. 47 THE STATE OF THE STATES, by James D. Barber.
No. 49 POLITICAL PARTY PLATFORMS: Rhetoric or Reality? by Judith Parris.
No. 51 IMPEACHMENT, by Gaddis Smith.
No. 52 FOUNDATIONS: Their Role in our American Pluralistic System, by Terry Sanford.
No. 56 BUDGETARY REFORM: Congress Adopts New Procedures, by C. Lowell Harriss.
No. 57 THE 95th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Gary C. Jacobson.
No. 58 SPECIAL DISTRICTS IN AMERICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, by Nathaniel Stone Preston.
No. 59 THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN CHANGING TIMES, by Monica Sullivan.
No. 60 THE 96th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Gary C. Jacobson.
No. 61 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES OF 1980, by James Eisenstein and Robert H. Ritchik.
No. 62 PACS: What They Are; How They Are Changing Political Campaign Patterns, by Herbert E. Alexander.
No. 63 THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1980, by Joseph E. Cantor.
No. 64 THE 97th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Thomas E. Cavanagh.
No. 65 THE 98th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Thomas E. Cavanagh.
No. 66 THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS: What Is Its Process Of Legislative Decision-Making? by Gary D. Serota.

15

BULK RATES

1 to 9 copies	$ 3.00 each
10 to 99 copies	2.75 each
100 to 499 copies	2.50 each

advantageous prices on larger quantities by special quotation.

The Center also publishes VITAL ISSUES, presenting each month the backgrounds and current situation of a topic of major importance for a better informed citizenry, POPULATION PROFILES, a series on the various aspects of Demography, and CAPITAL, a series that tells you what you need to know about it. Please address inquiries to:

The Center for Information on America
Washington, Connecticut 06793